1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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167 [128] A graph covering the last hundred years (Fig. 58) shows inter-censal net migrations and annual variations in the scale of movement as indicated by passports issued and by the Customs and Port Department records. The latter are adjusted for each decade to make the sum of annual totals comparable with the inter-censal net totals shown in Table 30 (see also Fig. 59).

In the nineteenth century, the principal factors affecting the scale of migration were economic. Periods of poverty at home sometimes drove the Maltese overseas while at other times they were attracted by boom conditions elsewhere in the Mediterranean. During the Crimean War, not even prosperity at home could counteract the cotton and building boom in Egypt and emigration rose to record heights (24). But the end of the Egyptian boom coincided with depression in Barbary and the two resulted in returns to Malta which more than compensated for the outward movement of the 50's and 60's. In the 1870's, recovery in Barbary coincided with slight recession in Malta and the number of emigrants again increased only to diminish again in 1875-80, reflecting bankrupt conditions in Egypt (25). The economic position of the receiving countries therefore played an important part in determining the volume of emigration at any given moment.

An outstanding feature of nineteenth century movement was a series of attempts to organise emigration from the Maltese Islands. The first of these ended with the failure of the Guiana and Granada experiments of 1831-41 when plantation settlement in these areas was attempted (26). Subsequent plans to settle colonies in Cyprus, Australia and the Americas collapsed and various other attempts to establish Maltese communities overseas each failed in turn. As a result, over 90 per cent. of nineteenth century emigrants moved no further than the coasts of North Africa and the Levant.

[889] The restricted scope of movement and the choice of the Mediterranean seaboard for settlement was influenced by three main non-economic factors: 'the belief that America and Australia were the permanent homes of strange and deadly diseases; the belief that it was necessary to settle in a country near enough to Malta to allow easy and frequent return to the beloved homeland; and the belief that similarity of language and custom marked out North Africa as the divinely appointed region for Maltese settlement abroad' (27).

The annexation of Tunis by the French in 1881 was an indication that the Maltese would no longer find North Africa an open field and the competition in business and commerce from the French and Italians became severe. Moreover, the standard of living in Malta from the 1860's onwards was higher than in most other parts of the Mediterranean so that there was little incentive for the Maltese to go there. Furthermore, the 80's saw the expansion of employment opportunities at home with the introduction of a number of schemes involving large scale public expenditure. As a result of such developments, the period from the late 1880's until 1905 was one in which there was a net inward movement. All thoughts of migration were abandoned and in 1905 the labour shortage was so acute that 300 workers were brought in from Sicily, Italy and Spain. 1906 saw the completion of major harbour and dockyard works and unemployment then became a serious problem which was partially responsible for the visit of the Royal Commission in 1911 (28). Since French and Italian control of North Africa was then complete, attention had to be paid to movement further afield.

In 1907, on the basis of experience already gained and during the period of depression, a voluntary organisation known as the Malta Emigration Committee was formed. In spite of the approval shown by the 1912 Royal Commissioners, this body was neither given any official status nor superseded by any official organisation. Partly as a result of the difficulties confronting the Committee, a Brazilian venture failed miserably in 1913, and in 1916 an unhappy combination of circumstances provoked such Australian antagonism to migration to that continent that an embargo on future movement was established which prevailed until 1920.

167 647 In 1918 the need for adjustment to post-war conditions became sufficiently great to force the establishment of an Emigration Department charged with the control of movement and the selection of personnel (Fig. 60). The social aspects

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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of the Selective System were of considerable importance. The main receiving countries were formulating restrictive laws and imposing quotas on entry. The physical, educational and social backgrounds of intending emigrants therefore needed considerable attention. Of the prospective emigrants in the early 1920's, 90 per cent. were illiterate and apart from apprenticeship schemes in the Dockyard there existed no opportunities for vocational or technical training. It can be assumed that only an infinitesimal number of migrants possessed any capital. Casolani, the Superintendent of Emigration between 1918 and 1930 claimed that the sudden realisation of the need for educating and training intending emigrants was most salutary in that it clearly showed how the existing educational system had - 'for a century been absolutely unrelated to the present needs of the people' (22). Since 1920, vocational training courses have been developed, a Migrants Training Centre opened in 1927, and more recently an Industrial Training Centre. In 1956 nearly 1,000 students were attending evening classes and many utilising other schemes. Ironically enough, by the 1950's the burden of expenditure incurred in the training of people who were to use their skills elsewhere, now began to prove in itself a major problem.

The direction of emigration since 1920 is illustrated in Figs. 60, 61, 62. Briefly, the major trends may be outlined as follows. Short-distance migration to Europe and North Africa declined rapidly and returns increased during the 1920's of economic dislocation and increasingly restrictionist policies in the receiving countries. The United States, Canada and Australia by various quota schemes reduced the inflow from Europe and that part of Maltese long-distance movement via the mainland as well as direct was struck a final blow by the 1930-31 world slump. The most rapid revival took place in movement to the United Kingdom where Maltese status as British subjects ensured preferential treatment. Economic conditions in all other areas other than Australia prevented any other revival before World War II destroyed all possibility of movement.

During the war, continued population growth and obvious hardships and insecurity pointed to emigration as a desirable action and led to official preparation for a post-war exodus. By the end of December 1946 nearly 12,000 prospective emigrants had been registered of whom over 10,000 wished to go to the U.S.A. and Australia (in roughly equal numbers). Until 1948 shipping shortages, administrative difficulties and the presence of a housing problem in Australia, together with a boom in domestic demand for labour in reconstruction work, slowed down the actual rate of movement. At the same time pressure kept building up and by March 1949 there were 42,120 registered prospective migrants.

In that same year financial assistance to would-be emigrants was made available on a significant scale. As from 1947 the Maltese Government contributed to a Passage Assistance Scheme whereby 75 per cent. of the cost of passage would be provided to 'suitable, necessitous and deserving cases with good prospects of employment abroad', a scheme more generous in its coverage than that available in 1946 from the Emergency Unemployment Loan Scheme. With effect from the beginning of 1949 the Passage Assistance Agreement concluded between Malta and Australia made available more capital than Malta alone could supply but, in that the equal grants made by both Governments were each limited to £30 per capita, a greater onus was placed on the migrant. Even so during 1949 nearly three and a half thousand people left for Australia under passage assistance schemes and in 1950 this rose to nearly 5,000, a proportion in each case of over 80 per cent. of all assisted emigrants. Between 1951 and 1953 economic difficulties in Australia reduced the strength of attraction to that country and a relatively greater proportion of movement was direct towards Canada.

By 1953, Australian economic revival and a firm acceptance of an emigration policy by the Maltese Government foreshadowed an impending increase in emigration and the United Kingdom Government agreed to alleviate the personal and Budgetary strains in Malta by making a contributory grant of up to £200,000 towards the Passage Assistance Scheme. By 1956, 60 per cent. of all expenditure on assistance was being borne by the United Kingdom Government, 10 per cent.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 160-C]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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[p. 15]

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants. Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands. Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey the wishes and commands of government to the people. Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are located in Valletta. Only the police represent government authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a day under the supervision of a government District Medical Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour. All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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647 many countries are carried out by village or municipal authorities,
[364] are in Malta centrally administered from Valletta.

Gozo provides in some respects an exception to this picture. Though Gozo is administratively and economically dependent upon Malta, it has had for many years a certain measure of autonomy under a separate Commissioner. This appointment is dictated by the island's distance from Valletta in time and space. This isolation has not surprisingly resulted in a widely held belief that the Maltese administration, in which, incidentally, a large number of Gozitans have always held important posts, has systematically
[653] neglected Gozo. That there is a certain justification for this belief can be seen by anyone who compares the condition of the roads and the extension of street lighting, water and drainage in the two islands.

623 Partly to still for ever complaints about neglect, and partly as
653 an experiment with a concept of local government new to Malta, the Gozo Civic Council was established in the summer of 1961. Each village in Gozo now has an elected committee of six councillors, one of whom represents the village on the Civic Council. The Council has the responsibility for the maintenance of roads, government buildings, cemeteries and public gardens, village dispensaries and the museum and public library. It can also construct new roads and extend drainage, water and street lighting. To
[651] finance its work the Council receives the revenue from local taxes and from certain government property in Gozo. It also has the power to levy rates, but as all councillors made solemn promises to their constituents that they would not do so, this additional source of revenue must be discounted for the time being.

II

793 The Maltese Islands form a single province of the Catholic
795 Church. This province is divided into the Archdiocese of Malta and the Diocese of Gozo, which includes the small island of Comino. The Bishop of Gozo is suffragan to the Archbishop of Malta. As the senior or Metropolitan Bishop, the Archbishop has
[293] certain privileges and rights over his suffragan. These include the right to visit his suffragan's diocese (with Papal authority), should the latter neglect to do so; the right to appoint a temporary vicar on the decease of the Bishop of Gozo, if the Cathedral Chapter of

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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[p.120]

CHAPTER VIII

The Village and the Outside World

557 Every Maltese is at the centre of a large network of kin relations.
602 Thus, when the need arises, many people are able to move along the intricate channels of consanguinity and affinity to establish personal contact with influential persons. It has also been noted that this network of kin can be extended artificially. Important persons, such as politicians, police officers, high civil servants and professionals are often invited to become godparents, marriage witnesses and confirmation sponsors. These relationships are constantly manipulated to bring individuals in touch with decision makers. This gives a personal content to many official decisions. Since most people honour the obligations of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood, requests which appeal to these values stand a good chance of a favourable reply. But a large network of kinsmen can also be a liability to a civil servant, for the favourable
557 602 647 treatment he is expected to give a kinsman often conflicts with the civil service ethic of impartiality. This can place persons in authority in awkward positions, since the refusal of a request may seriously affect either their personal relations or their professional integrity. Maltese civil servants thus work under pressure which is quite unfamiliar to their counterparts in larger, less intimately related societies.

II

171 557 771 776 Another method of handling contacts with authority is through influential patrons. By 'patron' I mean a person who uses his influence to assist and protect some other person, who then becomes his 'client'. In a Catholic society there is a strong ideological basis for a system of patronage, for there is great similarity between the function of saints and mortal patrons. Michael Kenny points to this correspondence in his study of patronage in Spain[1] and, in general terms, his analysis is equally applicable to

[1] 'Patterns of Patronage in Spain', *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXXIII (January 1960), pp. 14–23.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

time-consuming tasks. To help as many as possible, they often made up new job rosters every few months.

Canvassers would often expect presents for their work as intermediaries and for the favours they promised or secured. By and large, the party agents or canvassers were not popular figures, at least in retrospect. I came across many accounts of how they had exploited their positions to enrich themselves. The usual story was that they had accepted gifts – a rabbit, some chickens, a bottle of whisky or even cash – but had not assisted as they had promised. These tales may or may not be true; I had no way of checking. It is significant, however, that persons of all political colours, including former Ministers and MLA's, believe them to be true.

Mintoff's government did much to change the course of the stream of political patronage. To begin with, shortly after it came into office in 1955, the MLP passed a law which made it compulsory for those seeking employment with the government as industrial labourers to register with the Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare.[1] There they had to wait their turn. This took away from MLA's a considerable source of patronage. The MLP also established special sub-committees of the Labour Committees in each village to deal with the complaints and requests of the local inhabitants. A member of the sub-committee was generally available to the public for an hour or two every evening. All requests for assistance and complaints were discussed by the entire sub-committee, which would countersign the routine ones and send them along to the appropriate government department. More important matters were brought personally to the attention of the civil servant concerned by a member of the sub-committee. Complicated requests and serious complaints were forwarded to the District Committee, where they were discussed at the regular weekly meetings with the district MLA's, who might then take the matter up directly with the Minister. Civil servants, on the whole, handled complaints and requests for action from the Local Committees with much the same dispatch they would give a request from their Minister. Some Ministers even went so far as to instruct their Department Heads to ignore all complaints brought to them by private persons, especially parish priests. They were told only to act on those presented by the Local Committee.

[1] Act No. XIV, 1955: 'An Act to Make Provisions for the Establishment and Regulation of an Employment Service.'

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Another very important function the Local Committees performed during the period the MLP was in power was to obtain improvements for the village. Requests for drainage, new roads, street lighting and, above all, new schools, were submitted to the District Committees. There the proposals were screened and given priority ratings by the committee members and the district MLA's. When these projects were implemented, and a large number were, the Local Committees naturally received credit for them. This added to their claim to represent their villages, and strengthened the formal structure of the party.

This system of handling patronage and complaints gave the villager a direct contact with authority. It was a fairly simple procedure, and many considered it reasonably impartial, though of course it did help to be a member of the Labour Party in good standing. Moreover, the complainant, even though he might not succeed in his cause, had the satisfaction that it had received attention, and it did not cost him a nice fat rabbit. This does not mean that there was no abuse. Civil servants complained that they were often intimidated by zealous MLP members who threatened to report them to their Ministers if they did not comply as requested. This friction was particularly keen between the Local Committee members and the village police, street sweepers and teachers. One head teacher I knew was particularly bitter about his caretaker, who was a member of the village MLP committee. The caretaker would stroll into the head teacher's office if he disagreed with the disciplining of a child, for example, and threaten to report him to the Minister if he did not lighten the punishment.

But on the whole, the MLP made a concerted effort to take patronage out of the hands of canvassers and MLA's alike and channel it through the various committees of the party apparatus. This not only strengthened the party, it also won it considerable popularity. Moreover, it relieved MLA's and Ministers of a heavy administrative load; they were only called in on the more complicated matters. In short, the Local Committees came to function as branches of the government.

When the Labour Government resigned in 1958, the MLP clubs and committees lost the influence they had with government. They once more became merely propaganda and social centres. But the role they had played for three years in representing the interests of government at the village level and in

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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forwarding the requests and complaints of the villagers to government had greatly increased their strength, and that of the party they represented. As the members operated as a formal committee and not as individuals, they had the esteem and respect of most of the community. They also had considerable power in local affairs. In fact, for three years the leaders of the Labour group in the village ranked alongside the parish priest and the professionals as the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. The canvassers of the rival parties had perhaps had power, but they had never had respect. Theirs was always rather an underhanded operation, that was often disowned by MLA's when they were confronted with it. The MLP, on the other hand, delegated responsibility to Local Committees, and the Ministers legitimized them by openly working through them in all their relations with the villages. Villagers were also openly encouraged to work through them. These committees thus served the ends of the Labour Party most successfully. It is quite likely, therefore, that in the future other parties will find it politically as well as administratively expedient to develop and work through village committees patterned on the model so successfully tested by the Labour Party.

The party system has come into direct conflict with the traditional relations between patron and client at relatively few points. This is largely because most patrons who desired to were able to move successfully into the new field of party politics. A notable exception are priests, who are no longer permitted by their Bishops to stand for national political office. Their power to influence authority has thus been weakened by the new source of patronage and influence open to their parishioners. In particular, parish priests came into open conflict with the village MLP committees during the Labour Party's time in power after 1955. Not surprisingly, their clash at the village level mirrored the dispute between the Archbishop and the MLP at the national level. That is, it was a conflict between the religious authority of the Church and the secular authority of the State, represented in the villages by the Local Committees of the Labour Party. Both the parish priest and the Local Committee claimed to represent the village, and both sought by mobilizing their supporters to advance their claim at the expense of their opponents. This invariably resulted in a struggle for power during which the Labour supporters were

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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accused of being anti-clerical and against the Church because they opposed the will of the parish priest.

Shortly after Mintoff took office, the Local Committee in Kortin made plans to open a new avenue into the village. The scheme, first projected by government planners over sixty years before, was designed to ease the flow of traffic through the village and provide a wide, tree-lined promenade leading to the main square in front of the church. Unfortunately, the project required the demolition of four buildings, two of which were small chapels used as warehouses for the festa decorations. Because of this Dun Bert, the parish priest, bitterly opposed the scheme, as had his predecessors. He claimed that most of the village supported him. The Labour Committee, on the other hand, felt that it had the backing of the village, and went ahead with the project. The road was finally opened, and it proved to be a great success. But the two small churches were destroyed, and the relations between the Labour group and the parish priest remained hostile. Six years later, Dun Bert and his supporters were still pointing to the avenue as positive proof that the Labour Party is fundamentally opposed to the Church.

IV

But if the political parties have modified the traditional system of patronage somewhat by providing a new channel of influence for the villager, the professional politician of today is by and large the same traditional patron. That is, the successful politicians are largely drawn from the professional classes; they are still the doctors, the lawyers, the architects and the chemists. Indeed, until recently the lists of candidates often read like directories of the professional classes. This situation prevailed until about the time of the Labour Party split in 1949, when virtually all the professional class Labour MLA's sided with Dr. Boffa and formed the Workers' Party, while most of the MLP Executive and the rank and file supported Mintoff. After this the Labour Party asked people from all classes to stand as candidates, and began to push up working-class leaders trained in union and club politics. But the politicians from the professional class still heavily outnumber their working-class colleagues, even in the Labour Party.

Table 8 below illustrates this. Of the fifty MLA's elected in the

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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divided by the conflict, the office-holders who have laid politics aside to preserve the unity of the clubs for which they are responsible, the many who have sought to avoid open commitments to either side, and to remain in contact with both. They are the people who, in spite of all that has been preached and said against them by both sides, still look to both the Archbishop and Mintoff as their leaders, the one in the religious sphere, the other in the political. They see nothing inconsistent in hanging pictures of the two side by side in their houses. All have a vested interest in peace; and all work in their own way to keep the conflict from spreading and destroying completely their customary way of life.

At one time the entire civil service worked to prevent the spread of conflict in much the same way. When the Labour Party took over the government many civil servants, forced by the nature of their office to carry out the orders of the party in power, were obliged to administer policies which were contrary to the declared interests of the Church. Their loyalties were thus often divided between the two. Some of the higher civil servants carried messages between the two sides. Others called at the Curia merely to assure the Church that they implemented unwillingly the controversial policies. Yet others acted quietly in their own various ways to reduce the tension between government and Church that made their own positions so uncomfortable. Civil servants at all levels thus worked to keep the Church and the Labour Government in touch with each other and exerted considerable pressure to prevent the relations between the two from deteriorating even more. But their conciliatory influence came to an end when the Labour Party resigned. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the removal of this bridge between the MLP and the Church, the conflict became more intense almost immediately.

The two sides are now linked together only by the many persons with conflicting allegiances. Yet their ability to keep the conflict from spreading is slowly being reduced by the uncompromising position of the Church which is forcing them to take sides openly. As these persons reluctantly do so, the important cross links that tie the two combatants together are snapped off one by one, and the conflict becomes progressively more intense.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the underground granaries, shaped like vast jars, beneath the open space between Valetta and its suburb of Floriana and beneath a few other places, sealed with round stone lids and still in use for conserving Malta's stocks of imported grain.

There are other links in Malta with the rule of the Order of S. John. There survives, for example, from the days of the Grand Masters an official known as the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, who is the appraiser of the Government and impresses on Maltese silver its own hall-mark, the Maltese Cross, and on gold the crown or the Maltese shield. The Consul's office is housed on the ground-floor of the Monte di Pietà building in Merchants' Street. Opposite to it is the handsome Public Registry, with a tablet commemorating its reconstruction by Grand Master Zondadari. As if to compensate for the defacement by the French Revolutionaries of the Sienese Grand Master's escutcheon, his inscription was subsequently surmounted by a bust of George III, topped by the Royal Arms of that day.

In connexion with the Consul for Goldsmiths and Silversmiths it may be mentioned that the coinage of the Order remained legal tender in Malta until 1886, when by a Government Notice there were called in all coins of "the late Government of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem." [1] The principal denominations of the Maltese coinage were the scudo, the tari, the carlino and the grano or grain, which in Maltese were called *skut*, *rbighi*, *karlin* and *habba*; and not only the country people but all Maltese use to this day the old names to denote certain values in our modern coinage. Thus 2½*d.* is described as *tliet karlinijet* (three carlini); half a crown as *tmintax rbighi*, meaning eighteen tari; 1*s.* 3*d.* is invariably *disa' rbghajja*—that is, nine tari.

Malta has no longer a separate coinage of its own, but small bronze coins of one-third of a farthing, still known locally as grains, were struck at the London Mint for use in

[1] The standard work on this interesting coinage is Canon Calleja Schembri's *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, and edn., 1910).